

A RAND NOTE

THE MEDIA AND INTRA-ELITE COMMUNICATION
IN POLAND: THE ROLE OF MILITARY JOURNALS

A. Ross Johnson

December 1980

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PREFACE

The Rand Corporation is conducting a multiyear comparative study of the role of the media in intra-elite communication in Communist countries. Western analysts of the political process in "closed" Communist systems necessarily rely heavily on the published and broadcast output of the mass and specialized media. These media are in part propaganda organs, but they also have other functions. A generation of Sovietologists (and specialists on other Communist states) has had to base much of its analysis of policies and politics on interpretations of media nuances. Yet the assumptions of Sovietologists about the relationship between the media and the political actors whose behavior or attitudes are inferred from them have received little attention.

The Rand study was initiated to fill this need. Its emphasis is not on techniques of content analysis, which have received considerable attention in the past, but rather on the process by which politically significant material appears in Communist-country media. The study tests the validity of the usual Kremlinological assumption that the media of the USSR or other Communist countries are utilized as an instrument of power struggle and policy debate by contending leaders or groups. It seeks to establish the degree to which and the circumstances under which partisan views of particular leaders, groupings, or institutions may find expression in the controlled media.

The principal data base of the study is information obtained from extended interviews with emigres formerly involved in the media process--as writers, journalists, editors, censors, and government and

Party officials. In contrast to the many studies based on content analysis alone, and in an effort to test the often unexamined assumptions of content-analysis studies, the Rand project utilizes this data base to examine the structure and process of Communist media; the study focuses on the medium in the expectation that this will enhance the analyst's ability to interpret its message.

The study has to date included investigations of Soviet and Polish media. Work on Soviet media continues, and the results will be published when available. Polish media were selected for analysis in part because they appeared to differ more than other East European media from Soviet practice and in part because better information about their operations was available. Jane Leftwich Curry, a Rand consultant, and A. Ross Johnson collaborated on this research. Extended interviews were conducted in 1978 and 1979 by the co-investigators with 44 former Polish journalists, experts, editors, censors, and Party officials. The interviews were conducted with the understanding that the interviewees would remain anonymous; this stipulation has precluded the normal referencing of source material and has necessitated omitting some of the details of specific events. Project information from emigre interviews was supplemented with other data obtained in discussions with journalists, experts, and officials during trips to Poland. The reader may wish to have more details about events and about the authority of sources, to evaluate the plausibility of the research findings. As in any sensitive elite interviewing project, however, that natural wish must be subordinated to protecting the interests of the respondents.

The results of this work on Polish media are published in Rand Report, R-2627, The Media and Intra-Elite Communication in Poland: Summary Report, by Jane Leftwich Curry and A. Ross Johnson, December 1980, which provides an overview analysis and conclusions, and in a series of Rand Notes, which contain more detailed analyses and documentation of the research:

- o N-1514/1, The Media and Intra-Elite Communication in Poland: Organization and Control of the Media, by Jane Leftwich Curry, December 1980, reviews the controls over and the internal organization and process of Polish media.
- o N-1514/2, The Media and Intra-Elite Communication in Poland: The System of Censorship, by Jane Leftwich Curry, December 1980, documents in detail the structure and operations of the formal censorship system.
- o N-1514/3, The Media and Intra-Elite Communication in Poland: The Role of Military Journals, by A. Ross Johnson, December 1980, details the structure and process of military publication.
- o N-1514/4, The Media and Intra-Elite Communication in Poland: The Role of "Special Bulletins", by Jane Leftwich Curry, December 1980, reviews the important role played by limited-distribution bulletins in informing the Polish leadership about domestic and foreign affairs.
- o N-1514/5, The Media and Intra-Elite Communication in Poland: Case Studies of Controversy, by Jane Leftwich Curry and A. Ross Johnson, December 1980, describes six cases that are

illustrative of discussion, debate, and controversy in Polish
media.

A. Ross Johnson
Study Director

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I. ORGANIZATION OF POLISH MILITARY MEDIA

This Note documents the organization and functioning of Polish military media. "Military media" is a category that embraces a range of publications issued by and addressed to officers and soldiers of the Polish armed forces. In terms of accessibility, publications range from highly classified General Staff bulletins to "official use" theoretical journals to a public daily newspaper. In terms of intended rank of audience, publications range from the classified bulletins and theoretical journals directed at senior officers to an illustrated weekly for enlisted men. In terms of function and content, military publications fall into one of two quite distinct categories: "professional" or "political" organs.[1] Additionally, the Ministry of Defense Publishing House publishes a variety of military (and nonmilitary) books. Depending on where they fall on these multiple scales, Polish military media organs have different editorial processes and are subjected to different influences from elements of the Polish military and from the political system at large. An understanding of these distinctions can help the Western observer to better interpret the content of Polish military media--and, by appropriate extrapolation, other Communist military media.[2]

[1] In Polish military terminology, "czasopisma fachowo-wojskowe" or "czasopisma szkoleniowe do spraw politycznych." The subsequent discussion will use the terms "professional" and "political" to describe these two categories of military publications.

[2] This study is based on interviews with seven respondents with first-hand knowledge of the editorial practices, content, and readership of the various kinds of Polish military publications.

OPEN POLITICAL JOURNALS

The Polish military daily, Zolnierz Wolnosci, the illustrated weekly, Zolnierz Polski, and the officers' monthly, Wojsko Ludowe, are officially published by the Ministry of Defense (Zolnierz Polski is published in conjunction with the Liga Obrony Kraju, a volunteer organization somewhat comparable to the Soviet military auxiliary DOSAAF). In fact, all three publications are controlled by and responsive to the Main Political Administration (MPA), or more specifically, to the MPA Propaganda Department. It is the MPA that is responsible for the selection of chief editors (and other responsible editors) of the open political journals. These chief editors come from the ranks of political officers, not professional officers; and the editorial councils are dominated by MPA representatives, who supervise the operations of the journals. Such supervision by the MPA is not a formality; during the tenure of General Jaruzelski (now Defense Minister) as head of the MPA between 1960 and 1965, he or his aide read and annotated Zolnierz Wolnosci daily after publication, and these comments served as the opening item on the agenda of the morning meeting of the Zolnierz Wolnosci editorial board. Major political articles are approved by the MPA prior to publication.

Zolnierz Wolnosci and the other open political journals are subjected to general as well as military censorship[3]; as such, they are scrutinized for conformity to general political guidelines on the same basis as the nonmilitary press. This general censorship process frequently affects the content of the open political journals (and books)

[3] See Rand Note N-1514/2 and the Appendix for a description of these separate censorship institutions.

issued by the armed forces; a number of concrete examples are cited below. Both directly and via the general censorship process, these publications fall within the purview of the Polish United Workers' Party (PUWP) Central Committee Press Department. But the influence of the MPA is much more direct and pervasive than that of the CC Press Department.

The function of these journals is political education and indoctrination. In our interviews, respondents with professional and specialist military backgrounds held them in low regard, just as they paid little attention to the counterpart political publications of the Soviet military.[4] Not only did they themselves not regularly read or write for these political journals but they agreed that this was true of their professional and specialist colleagues as well.[5] One professional officer who participated in reviews of Zolnierz Wolnosci found its professional content so meager that there was little substance for him to react to, one way or the other. The newspaper requires heavy subsidies from the Defense Ministry budget. Zolnierz Wolnosci and the other political journals thus do not really reflect the professional concerns of the General Staff and other "line" institutions. On the other hand, as organs of the MPA--the "Party in the army"--they not only reflect the military-political concerns of the MPA but at times have reflected diverse political currents and conflicts within the Party at large.

[4] Respondents affirmed that the Soviet publications Voennaia mysl', Voenno-istoricheskii zhurnal, and Voennyi vestnik are carefully read by Polish military professionals but that Kommunist Vooruzhennykh Sil and Krasnaia zvezda receive little attention.

[5] An exception is the military historical journal, Wojskowy Przegląd Historyczny, a publicly available journal published by the Institute of Military History. Both the Institute and the journal fall under MPA supervision, but the journal sometimes publishes serious studies of Polish military history.

This was the case with Zolnierz Wolnosci in the 1960s, when it became a mouthpiece for the Moczarites.[6]

LIMITED POLITICAL JOURNALS

In addition to the public political journals, a few limited-distribution political journals are also published under the aegis of the MPA. The MPA Propaganda Department itself reportedly publishes a classified bulletin, Biuletyn Informacyjny Glownego Zarzadu Politycznego, containing instructional and training materials for political officers. In addition, the Military-Political Academy (WAP) publishes periodic writings by Academy staff members in Zeszyty Naukowe, issued in several specialist series (historical, psychological, military economics, etc.). Some of these WAP publications are "political" in content, but in terms of editorial process they resemble "house organs" of other military institutes (to be discussed shortly). The editors and editorial council of Zeszyty Naukowe are drawn from staff officers of WAP; since 1958, its chief editor has been a deputy commander of WAP. These publications are reviewed only by the General Staff military censorship office, not by the regular censor. They sometimes contain politically sensitive material (their MPA supervision notwithstanding) that could not pass regular censorship, such as historical analyses of sensitive issues in Soviet-Polish relations.

[6] The grouping within the Party headed by former Interior Minister Mieczyslaw Moczar that sought to topple Gomulka. This case is analyzed in detail in Note N-1514/6, Section II. Zolnierz Wolnosci is carefully read by commanders to see if anything critical has been published about their own unit or service.

In addition to these central publications, there are reportedly newspapers published by the military regions (and initially after World War II, by division commands); we have no details on these publications, but they are intended for conscripts and are controlled by the political administration of their military region.

LIMITED PROFESSIONAL MILITARY JOURNALS

The professional military publications subordinated to the General Staff and other line or professional military institutions are in quite a different position than the political journals just described.[7] Formally, all professional publications (with the reported exception of the classified General Staff Bulletin) fall under MPA purview via the MPA representative (or representatives) on the editorial council of each journal. In fact, however, the MPA representatives, and the MPA generally, have little impact on the operations or content of the professional journals. For these journals, the MPA plays an important role only in defining the obligatory political articles that sometimes appear, particularly on anniversary occasions.[8]

It is the General Staff and other line and specialized professional military institutions, not the MPA, that shape the operations and content of the professional journals. The chief of the General Staff personally selects (i.e., nominates for appointment by the defense minister) the chief editor of Mysl Wojskowa, a General Staff monthly. The

[7] There are no open professional journals as freely distributed as Wojsko Ludowe.

[8] The limited role of these political articles is discussed below.

chief editors of other professional journals are similarly picked by the responsible institutional "overseer." For example, the chief editor of Przegląd Wojsk Lądowych, a monthly devoted to ground forces matters, is picked by the deputy defense minister and chief inspector for training; the chief editor of Wojskowy Przegląd Lotniczy, an air force monthly, is picked by the commander of the air force. Chief editors of such journals have had career histories of professional, not political, positions; in some cases, the position of chief editor has served as an honorable sinecure, but in others, it has served as a "ticket" on the way to the top.[9] The editorial councils of professional military journals are typically headed by the principal "sponsor"--e.g., the chief of the General Staff in the case of Mysl Wojskowa--and comprised primarily (apart from the obligatory MPA representation) of senior officers from military institutions concerned with the content of the journal. With a possible exception or two, these journals are not for public distribution but are either for official use or classified. As such, they are subject to censorship only by the military censorship section of the general staff, not the regular civilian censorship office. This procedure helps isolate the professional military journals from political influences.

From the testimony of a variety of respondents with experience in various areas of Polish military life, it is possible to present a ranking of professional military publications. In general, the more restricted and collectively authored, the more authoritative the

[9] The chief editor of Mysl Wojskowa in the 1960s, Colonel Antoni Jasinski, has subsequently been promoted to general and is today a deputy chief of the General Staff.

publication. Most authoritative is the classified Biuletyn Informacyjny Sztabu Generalnego, which reportedly contains directive operational and technical articles. Its articles are collectively authored and approved by the Biuletyn's editorial council or, in some cases, by the Military Council of the Defense Ministry.[10] Next in importance is the classified (tajna) version of Mysl Wojskowa, reportedly issued every two to three months. Unlike the Biuletyn Informacyjny Sztabu Generalnego, the classified version of Mysl Wojskowa reportedly contains signed articles which are of a discussion rather than a directive nature. These articles reportedly include concrete discussions of military capabilities that cannot be broached in unclassified publications.

Following these classified publications, in terms of authoritative-ness and importance for Polish military professionals, is the regular edition of Mysl Wojskowa, an "official use" monthly. Its signed articles reflect the individual viewpoints of its contributors and are therefore of a discussion nature; unlike the classified version, the official-use edition is limited to general and theoretical military issues. An all-military journal, Mysl Wojskowa, is the organ of the General Staff, whose chief personally heads its editorial council. It publishes articles--both commissioned and self-initiated--from officers throughout the armed forces.

The military services and many specialized offices also publish a variety of professional military journals: Przegląd Wojsk Ladowych is

[10] The Military Council (Rada Wojskowa) was established in 1956 as a professional advisory body to the Minister of National Defense; unlike its Soviet counterpart, it is not dominated by MPA and Party representatives.

directly responsible to the Chief Inspectorate for Training. Wojskowy Przegląd Lotniczy is sponsored by the Air and Air Defense Command. Wojskowy Przegląd Techniczny, a monthly devoted to military technology, is published by the Chief Technical Directorate of the General Staff, as are Wojskowy Przegląd Ekonomiczny, the major monthly for military economy, and Przegląd Informacyjno-Dokumentacyjny Naukowej Informacji Wojskowej, a review of military-scientific developments. The Directorate of Rear Services issues a monthly devoted to Service issues, Przegląd Kwatermistrzowski. The editorial council of each of these journals is headed by the respective senior general; the authors are people from throughout the military with experience or interests appropriate to the journal in which their work appears.

In contrast, the journals published by each of the military academies--e.g., the General Staff Academy and the Military Technical Academy--are "house organs" whose editorial councils and editorial boards are drawn exclusively from the respective academies; these publications--e.g., the Zeszyty Naukowe of the General Staff Academy (ASG)--generally publish selected research results of academy staff members and only rarely publish the works of "outsiders."

MILITARY BOOKS

In addition to the political and professional military journals described above, the Ministry of Defense Publishing House (MON) issues a large number of books on both military and nonmilitary themes. Following a tradition established in the initial postwar years, MON has published a large number of books on "patriotic" as well as military sub-

jects. Military book publishing falls under the purview of both the MPA and the General Staff.

II. THE PROCESS OF MILITARY PUBLICATION

MILITARY JOURNALS

The process of publication in Polish military journals parallels the editorial process in other specialized professional media. A chief editor presides over an editorial staff; in the case of Mysl Wojskowa, the staff is small, consisting of only 3 to 4 officers, while the service journals have a larger group consisting of as many as 12 officers plus 6 civilians in service jobs. For each journal, the chief editor formulates a yearly thematic publication plan, which is then approved by the editorial council and the monitoring organization. The supervisory editorial council plays a lesser or greater role depending on the particular journal; in the case of the all-military Mysl Wojskowa, the council has played a very active role, whereas editors-in-chief of other journals have been given a substantially free hand.

In planning individual issues, journal editors both commission articles (providing guidance on thematic treatment and length) and consider unsolicited contributions. Once articles are received and read by the editors, they are referred for review--generally to two senior officers, who are usually members of the journal's editorial council but are sometimes senior experts or specialists from elsewhere in the military establishment. Authors who had written extensively in these military journals described the review process to us as professional and collegial. One respondent described his dealings with a reviewer of one of his articles for Mysl Wojskowa as follows:

I once had a discussion with General ... [head of a defense ministry section] as the reviewer for one of my articles. He asked me to come to his office and we had a discussion, but it was a very professional discussion. It was not a political discussion. We discussed concrete themes--what should be changed, what was correct and not correct

Such reviews are used by the editors to improve an article they have already deemed suitable for publication or, occasionally, to confirm their judgment that a particular article does not merit publication.

Following changes in an article as a result of the review process--typically involving compromises between the author, the reviewer, and perhaps the editors--an article undergoes editing, both stylistically and to assure conformity with standard military terminology. The article is then submitted to military censors subordinated to the General Staff, who limit themselves to reviewing the suitability of the article for unclassified publication or for proper classification. Military censorship is usually a painless process, but on occasion the chief editor of a military journal and the military censors can have different interpretations of the regulations (which, unlike the civilian censorship directives, are available to the military chief editors as well). In such cases the chief editor can, if he feels it an important issue, appeal--sometimes with success. In one such case involving an article that described a new piece of equipment, the chief editor successfully appealed the military censors' decision to the chief of the General Staff.

The publication process itself often determines the timing of the publication of articles. According to the respondents, articles submitted for publication may be delayed for months so that they can be pub-

lished in a journal issue devoted to a particular theme, so that the chief editor can maintain a balance among the different subject areas he is expected to treat in the journal, or simply until there is space available among prior planned articles.

In a special category are the political articles that sometimes appear in professional journals. Such articles are obligatory on important anniversaries (the establishment of "People's Poland," the founding of the Warsaw Pact, etc.). These articles reflect MPA influence, are often written by contributors imposed by the MPA rather than selected by the chief editor, and are regarded by military professionals--editors and readers alike--as "sweeteners" deserving little attention.

Soviet representatives do not perform a pre-publication review of the contents of Polish military journals--and reportedly did not do so even in the Stalinist period. On the other hand, Soviet officials in Warsaw carefully read what is published. When they have reactions or objections, they make their views known, usually informally.

ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI

Zolnierz Wolnosci, as a daily newspaper, differs greatly in editorial organization from the military journals described above. Its internal organization is similar to that of other dailies. Under its chief editor and editorial secretary are a number of departments for economic affairs, international affairs, and the like. It distinguishes itself from other dailies by the presence of a military department and by its direct subordination to the MPA. Most of its staff members--

about 90 percent in the 1960s--are from the military. Only its military department emphasizes original articles; in most cases the other departments of Zolnierz Wolnosci rely on PAP and other prepared news stories.

MILITARY BOOKS

The organization of the Ministry of Defense Publishing House (MON) parallels that of nonmilitary publishers. As a publisher of open books supervised by the MPA, even its professional books are subject to political scrutiny and political pressure. Like the open journals published by the military, the books published by MON must be approved by civilian censors, who regularly intervene. One case in point concerned a book on Western military equipment, an outgrowth of the author's military research work on the subject. Although the manuscript had been approved by the General Staff military censors, the regular censor in the Main Administration for the Control of the Press, Publications, and Public Performances (GUKPPiW) objected to the fact that it did not balance appraisal of American capabilities with praise for Soviet equipment. In direct discussion with the censorship official, and by involving the head of the military section of GUKPPiW, the author was able to publish the manuscript with the addition of a section on corresponding Soviet capabilities. This detailed concern with the "Soviet factor" in open military publications is apparently the rule.

In the publication of open military books, GUKPPiW is the final but by no means the only source of political intervention. Wacław Stankiewicz's book on military logistics, Logistyka, was faulted by one of its reviewers, a deputy head of the MPA, for failing to include

political condemnation of the United States. Therefore, sections dealing with "American aggression" were added and the censorship office passed the manuscript without objection. The MPA was also the effective censor in other cases involving the publication of military historical studies that, inevitably, touched on Polish-Soviet relations. In the case of one book published in the late 1950s, even though the manuscript had been endorsed by General Bordzilowski (the Soviet-Polish general who was at the time chief of the General Staff), the MPA still argued against publication and, when it lost that battle, succeeded in limiting the number of copies.

Such political controls notwithstanding, books on specialized military subjects published by MON are taken seriously by military professionals, and in some cases publication of a book will give rise to a discussion in professional military journals. As one example, the book on American military equipment referenced above evoked a critical post-publication review by a leading General Staff officer in Mysl Wojskowa.

POPULAR MILITARY ARTICLES

Apart from publishing journal articles and books, military writers also contribute popular articles on military affairs to the general (nonmilitary) press. In some cases, it is the civilian journal itself which solicits articles; in the 1960s, at least, Polityka (the weekly directed to the technical intelligentsia) sought to carry an article on military affairs from time to time and actively solicited articles from military writers. In other cases, military institutions take the initiative. The Military Economics Institute of WAP, for example, sought

to publicize the subject of military economy in the 1960s by "placing" a series of articles on the subject in the popular media. Military articles in the mass media seek to popularize military affairs; they are generally not an extension of intramilitary discussion. Although such writings must pass through the General Staff censorship office on their way to the civilian censors, they do not usually receive professional peer scrutiny prior to publication. They are subjected to the same political pressures as military books. As one example, when a military author submitted an article on the West German economy to Zycie Gospodarcze (the weekly specializing in economic affairs), the censor asked him to add negative political commentary. In another case, an article that a military officer published in Polityka underwent many changes during the censorship process without the author's prior knowledge (he was, however, out of Warsaw at the time).

III. DISCUSSIONS, DEBATES, AND CONTROVERSIES
IN POLISH MILITARY MEDIA

Most of the contributions to the professional military press, being signed articles, are "discussion articles" reflecting a "responsible" individual point of view, within the institutional context just described. Only unsigned articles in the restricted journals constitute authoritative agreed-upon statements by the top military leadership. Individually authored "discussion articles" sometimes evoke replies, rebuttals, or simply the expression of a different point of view. Such articles are written mostly by captains, majors, and colonels, and have slightly more leeway in making points that depart from (but do not challenge) Soviet practice than does an authoritative directive article.

Respondents with professional military backgrounds stress the reality and significance of discussions on professional issues in the professional Polish military press--albeit on narrow professional grounds and strictly within the framework of the Soviet-Polish military relationship.[1] One respondent noted:

[There was] open and honest discussion. Political factors were not involved. There was no fear of defending strongly one's views, since purely professional matters were involved.

[1] The 1956 turmoil in Poland (the "Polish October"), while bringing in its wake widespread personnel and institutional changes in the Polish military, had very little impact on military doctrine and strategy. Even in 1956-1957, Polish professional military media failed to display any questioning of Soviet strategy and doctrine such as that reflected in Czechoslovak military media between 1966 and 1968. See the forthcoming Rand study, The Warsaw Pact "Northern Tier," by A. Ross Johnson, Robert Dean, and Alexander Alexiev.

Such published professional discussions parallel oral discussions in a variety of forums, including expert conferences organized by the General Staff and specialist meetings convened at the General Staff Academy and other military academies. The oral discussions are, inevitably, somewhat freer (again, within the limits of the system). One concrete difference between discussions conducted orally and those carried out even in the limited-circulation military press concerns the treatment of Western military developments. Orally and in papers prepared for expert meetings, Western capabilities can be assessed "objectively," while treatment of the same issues in the professional military press often requires accompanying negative political commentary (although to a lesser degree than in open publications).

In general, professional military discussions abjure ideology; when a political statement or commentary is included in such discussions, as in the case of articles on Western technological developments, it is imposed and ritualistic. A respondent who wrote such articles noted:

The people involved in [professional military] matters were little inclined to link ideological problems with purely professional matters.... Only when something was for the broader public did they attempt to incorporate more political aspects.

Analogous discussions on matters of professional interest to political officers are carried out in the pages of the political journals under the aegis of the MPA.

These generalizations are supported by a number of concrete examples of the unfolding of discussions, debates, and controversies in Polish military media--both professional and political. Illustrative of

the nature of discussions in the classified version of Mysl Wojskowa was a reported series of discussion articles at the beginning of the 1960s on modern command principles under conditions of nuclear warfare, initiated by General Franciszek Skibinski. Other senior officers published contributions, and after six months, General Bordzilowski, chief of the General Staff, published a summary article putting forward an authoritative interpretation of the subject.

A discussion on military economy was illustrative of a wider-ranging discussion carried on in a variety of specialist publications, including Mysl Wojskowa, Zeszyty Naukowe WAP, and Zeszyty Naukowe ASG, as well as in various instructional materials (skrypty). Stimulated by the Western discussion of defense economics in the nuclear age and paralleling the corresponding Soviet discussion, the Polish discussion lasted some three years and dealt with such topics as the nature of the subject, how it should be taught, and the meaning of "economic mobilization" and "military-economic potential" in the nuclear age.

Yet another kind of discussion, one conducted in political journals, was an exchange of views on the proper mix of professional military and political training of political officers that also took place principally in Wojsko Ludowe at the beginning of the 1960s. The professional journals, including Mysl Wojskowa, played little or no role in this exchange. The discussion unfolded more on personal than on clear-cut institutional lines. The head of the Military-Political Academy was the principal high-level supporter of more relative emphasis on professional training of political officers; General Bednarz, deputy head of the MPA, was the principal opponent. Bednarz reportedly inspired an

article by an MPA captain emphasizing political criteria. In the end, the matter was considered at the Ministry of Defense Military Council, where the arguments paralleled those in the media discussion. The Military Council decided in favor of those advocating more attention to professional criteria, and corresponding changes in the system of educating political officers were in fact implemented.

It was noted above that the open political publications of the Polish armed forces are responsive to impulses from the MPA and indirectly from the Press Department and other sections of the Party Central Committee and as such may mirror factionalism in the Party leadership. This was the case with Zolnierz Wolnosci in both 1956-1957 and 1963-1969--the years of strongest internecine conflict within the upper levels of the Party. In 1956, Zolnierz Wolnosci reflected the more liberal current within the Party leadership by virtue of its ties to the MPA, which was itself strongly influenced by the more liberal group in the Party backing Gomulka's return to power. As a result, the newspaper published articles in 1956 on such controversial subjects as the purge of the military during the Stalinist era and the past failings of the MPA itself.

In the 1960s, in contrast, Zolnierz Wolnosci was the mouthpiece of anti-liberal elements within the Party; respondents with military backgrounds affirm that among the military, as in the society at large, Zolnierz Wolnosci was regarded as a spokesman for the hard-line and anti-Semitic factional grouping led by Mieczyslaw Moczar. This was so because, as in 1956, the MPA itself was influenced by a particular

current within the Party--in this case the Moczarites.[2] This Moczarite current was also reflected in the Zeszyty Naukowe of the Military-Political Academy, which carried commissioned articles denouncing Professor Wlodzimierz Brus, the prominent economist who had been a visiting professor at the Academy and sometimes published in Zeszyty Naukowe (and who became a victim of the anti-Semitic campaign). Immediately after 1956, the publications of the Military-Political Academy also had reflected the "liberal" current of 1956.

In 1968, as in 1956, factional turbulence within the Party had little impact on the content of professional military publications; what the political infighting, and especially its anti-Semitic component, did affect in the late 1960s was the personnel complement of professional military journals, since it led to the ouster of a number of editors from their positions.

[2] The mechanism and details of this link between Zolnierz Wolnosci and the Moczarite group are examined in Note N-1514/6, Section II.

IV. CONCLUSIONS

This review of Polish military media suggests that a sharp distinction must be drawn between the professional and the political journals (and other publications) issued under the aegis of the Ministry of National Defense. In order to interpret a particular article, it is necessary above all to understand where it falls on the professional-political continuum. The political articles that are published from time to time in the professional journals are, by and large, window dressing and are viewed as such by both editors and readers. Correspondingly, the professional or technical articles in the political publications of the armed forces are in general not taken seriously by Polish military professionals. According to one:

Political officers read Wojsko Ludowe because it has informational material for them. But as for professional officers, line commanders, I don't recall that one of them ever told me that he had read some article in it. In general it is not read [by professional officers].

Each type of publication has a distinct function and audience. In each type, signed articles are most frequent; these are explicitly "discussion articles" which represent "responsible" individual viewpoints presented within the constraints of the review, editorial, and censorship processes that have been described. "Discussion articles" sometimes do elicit a discussion, reflecting but not fully reproducing an exchange of views among military officers conducted through nonmedia channels. The more public the journal or other publication, the fewer the specifics of military affairs that can be addressed and the greater

the political intervention from the MPA and the general censorship organs. This political connection makes it likely that conflict within the top Party elite will be reflected in the political journals of the military. The professional journals, on the other hand, are likely to remain insulated from intra-Party conflict. Within the overall constraints of the system, such journals reflect important concerns of military professionals, relatively free of specific MPA or other political interference. Each has a specific institutional sponsor to which the editors--enjoying a greater or lesser degree of autonomy--are responsible.

Once these contextual distinctions are understood, it is important to recognize that different writers and institutions may play quite different media roles. To understand the game, one must know something about the players. The military publicist, Colonel Henryk Michalski, serves as an example of the importance of understanding the role of particular authors. A prolific author whose works have attracted considerable attention outside Poland, Michalski was reportedly not considered a serious writer by professional line officers. According to one respondent with command experience:

Henryk Michalski writes a great deal.... But in Polish military circles he was not regarded as a military authority. He wrote a book The First 100 Hours of a Nuclear War, which attracted a lot of attention, but a careful reading indicated that it was more a fantasy than based on real military science.

This respondent suggested that a list of serious military writers would include such names as Generals Antoni Jasinski and Boleslaw Chocha and Colonels Kazimierz Nozko and Zdzislaw Golab.

Rarely, if ever, will the reader of Polish military media have such detailed contextual knowledge as in the case just cited. But sensitivity to the importance of that context will enable the analyst and scholar to be more discriminating in their reading. And careful attention to the dichotomy between the professional and the political-military media will permit them to distinguish wheat from chaff in tracking intra-military discussions.

Appendix

POLISH MILITARY CENSORSHIP ORGANS

Companion Note N-1514/2 describes the organization and operation of the regular censorship office, GUKPPiW (the Main Administration for the Control of the Press, Publications, and Public Performances), which is formally subordinate to the Council of State and supervised directly by the Press Department of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party. Within GUKPPiW is a military censorship section, Samodzielny Wydział Wojskowy, headed by a colonel and having a total of 6 employees in 1977.[1] The precise lines of subordination of this military section are unclear; although an integral part of GUKPPiW, it is evidently also responsible to the Defense Ministry. Writings on military subjects intended for open publication, whether written by military or non-military authors, come to the attention of GUKPPiW's military censorship section. If there are questions about military matters, GUKPPiW can seek guidance from technical or political offices within the Defense Ministry. This military section of GUKPPiW evidently posts a censor to the editorial offices of Zolnierz Wolnosci (which, being a daily, requires rapid and on-the-spot censorship approval).

Quite separate from the military section of GUKPPiW is the military censorship office subordinated to the General Staff (Oddział Cenzury Wojskowej Sztabu Generalnego). Evidently, this General Staff military censorship office has existed as such only since 1956; prior to that

[1] According to the internal censorship documents published in Czarna księga cenzury PRL, 1, Aneks, London, 1977, pp. 244-245.

time, it was apparently formally a part of the civilian censorship office, GUKPPiW, but was in fact responsive to the military counterintelligence service. Its transfer to General Staff supervision was in line with the establishment of "professional" military authority over a number of areas of internal military affairs in 1956. Subsections of the office are located in the various military services. The office is charged with the protection of military secrets, based on Defense Ministry directives. It reviews classified military journals for the appropriate level of classification, and it reviews official-use journals for suitability for publication at that level. It seeks to avoid involvement in political questions. According to one respondent:

I spoke in the late 1950s with the chief of military censorship.... He congratulated me on [a manuscript]. I asked him if he had any reservations about it. He responded: It is an MPA publication. I would only intervene if you involved a military secret. The MPA is responsible for political secrets.

While the General Staff censorship office reviews the writings of military officers that are intended for open publication, such writings always are subsequently also reviewed by the regular censorship office, GUKPPiW.

